



**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE  
EASTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI**

MISSOURI STATE CONFERENCE OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Civ. No. 14-2077-RWS

FERGUSON-FLORISSANT SCHOOL DISTRICT  
and ST. LOUIS COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTION  
COMMISSIONERS,

Defendants.

**EXPERT REPORT OF RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, Ph.D.**

RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, acting in accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, Fed. R. Civ. P. 26(a)(2)(B), and Fed. R. Evid. 702 and 703, does hereby declare and say:

1. My name is Richard L. Engstrom and I am a resident of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. I am a Research Associate at the Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Social Sciences at Duke University, a Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science at Duke, and a member of the Graduate Faculty in political science at Duke. I came to Duke University in 2008. Prior to that, from August of 2006 through 2007, I was employed as a consultant at the Center for Civil Rights at the School of Law, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am a former Research Professor of Political Science and Endowed Professor of Africana Studies at the University of New Orleans, where I was employed from August 1971 to May 2006. I have served two terms as the Chairperson of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association (1993-1995, 1995-1997) and

served as a member of the Executive Council for that section from 1993 to 2007. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as an Appendix to this report.

2. I have done extensive research into the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. The results of my research on this topic have been published in the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Law and Politics*, *St. Louis University Public Law Review*, *Electoral Studies*, *Representation*, *Publius*, and other journals and books. Three articles authored or co-authored by me were cited with approval in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), the U.S. Supreme Court decision interpreting amended Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. See 478 U.S. at 46 n.11, 48 n.15, 53 n.20, 55, 71. I am the co-author, with Mark A. Rush, of *Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001). The attached curriculum vitae contains a list of all of my publications.

3. I also have testified as an expert witness in numerous cases in federal and state courts across the United States. Since 2009, I have testified at trial and/or been deposed in the following cases: *Benavidez v. Irving Independent School District* (N.D. Tex. 2009), *United States v. Euclid City School District Board of Education* (N.D. Ohio 2009), *Texas Latino Redistricting Task Force v. Perry* (W.D. Tex. 2011), *Committee for a Fair and Balanced Map v. Illinois State Board of Elections* (N.D. Ill. 2011), *Egolf v. Duran* (N.M. 1st Judicial Dist. Ct. Santa Fe Cnty. 2011), *Texas v. United States* (D.D.C. 2012), *Fabela v. City of Farmers Branch* (N.D. Tex. 2012), *Romo v. Detzner* (Fla. 2d Judicial Cir. Leon Cnty. 2013), *Montes v. City of Yakima* (E.D. Wash. 2014), *Benavidez v. Irving Independent School District* (N.D. Tex. 2014),

*Rodriguez v. Grand Prairie Independent School District* (N.D. Tex. 2014), *Texas Latino Redistricting Task Force v. Perry* (W.D. Tex. 2014), and *Hall v. State of Louisiana* (M.D. La. 2014). I have also testified by deposition as a fact witness in *Backus v. South Carolina* (D.S.C. 2012).

4. I have reviewed Rule 702 of the Federal Rules of Evidence. As I understand that rule, I am an expert in election systems and their impact on minority voters.

5. Attorneys for the Plaintiffs in this matter have asked me to analyze the extent to which, if any, the candidate preferences of African American and non-African American voters in the Ferguson-Florissant School District in Missouri have differed in recent elections in which they have been presented with a choice between or among African American and non-African American candidates to the School Board for the district. Elections with this type of candidate pool are generally considered the most probative for assessing racially polarized voting (hereinafter “RPV”).<sup>1</sup>

6. I am being compensated at a rate of \$400 an hour for my work on this case.

### **THE ELECTION SYSTEM**

7. All seven members of the School Board are elected at-large. All registered voters in the jurisdiction may vote in these elections. Members are elected to three-year terms, with the elections and terms staggered. The elections are held in April of every year, with either two seats or three seats up in each election. Two two-seat elections and one three-seat election are held over a three year period. In the two-seat elections voters are allowed to cast a vote for up to two candidates; in the three-seat election they are allowed to cast a vote for up to three

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Black Political Task Force v. Galvin*, 300 F. Supp. 2d 291, 304 (D. Mass. 2004), and cases cited therein. See also *Magnolia Bar Ass’n, Inc. v. Lee*, 994 F.2d 1143, 1149 (5th Cir. 1993); *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, 336 F. Supp. 2d 976, 1011-12 (D.S.D. 2004).

candidates. There is no requirement that voters cast all of the votes allocated to them, nor a requirement that voters who receive ballots for these elections cast any votes at all in the Board contests. Winners are determined by a plurality vote rule: the candidates with the largest number of votes and second largest number of votes are elected in a two-seat contest, while those with the most, second most, and third most are elected in the three-seat contest.

### **ELECTIONS ANALYZED**

8. The Board elections analyzed are the last five, which were held in April of each year from 2011 through 2015. Four of these elections occurred prior to the filing of this lawsuit. The last one however, held this year, was held subsequent to the filing of this lawsuit. Two of these elections—those held in 2011 and 2014—were for three seats, while the other three—those held in 2012, 2013, and 2015—were for two seats. In each of these elections, voters were presented with a choice between or among African-American and non-African-American candidates.<sup>2</sup>

### **RACIALLY POLARIZED VOTING**

#### **DATA AND METHODS**

9. The data used in the analyses of the candidate preferences of African American and non-African American voters include the numbers of votes cast for the various candidates in each of the precincts used in an election, and the racial composition of those precincts as reflected by the voting age population (hereinafter “VAP”) within the precincts.<sup>3</sup> The sources

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<sup>2</sup> Three of the four previous elections—those in 2007, 2008, and 2010—were not contested, as the number of candidates was the same as the number of seats up for election in each of them. The 2009 election did not contain any African American candidates.

<sup>3</sup> African American VAP is based on the number of people of voting age identifying themselves as solely African American in the 2010 Census of Population. Only 436 additional people identified themselves as only part African American, leaving single race African Americans constituting 98.2 percent of the voting age residents of the school district who identify as being African American in any way.

for these data are the St. Louis County Board of Elections and the 2010 Census of Population. Computer readable data files that match this information for every precinct have been provided to me by William Cooper.

10. The estimates of the candidate preferences of the different groups of voters are derived through Gary King's Ecological Inference ("EI") procedure, accessible through R software. This version of EI not only provides a specific, or point, estimate of a group's support for a particular candidate, but also provides confidence intervals for that estimate. These intervals identify the range of estimates within which we can be 95 percent confident, statistically, of where the actual value of a group's support for a candidate falls. The point estimate is the best estimate, in that it is the value most likely to be the actual value, and estimates within the range of a confidence interval are less likely to be the true value the further away they are from the point estimate.<sup>4</sup>

11. Given that voters have up to two or three votes to cast in these elections, the interpretation of the estimates is somewhat different from those that result from analyses of single-vote elections. In single-vote elections, the number of votes cast in an election and the number of voters casting them is the same. The estimate of a group's support for a particular candidate in that context therefore refers to the percentage of those among the specified group voting in the election who voted for a particular candidate. An estimate of 50.0 percent, for

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<sup>4</sup> This procedure is detailed in Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data* (Princeton University Press, 1997), and is now used widely by expert witnesses in assessing racially polarized voting in voting rights cases. On the superiority of EI over ecological regression for assessing differences in the candidate preferences between or among groups of voters, which had been relied upon by the Supreme Court in 1986 in *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 52-53, see King, *A Solution*, at 15-16. EI was developed subsequent to that case for the explicit purpose of improving these estimates. See also D. Stephen Voss, "Using Ecological Inference for Contextual Research," in Gary King, Ori Rosen, and Martin Tanner (eds.), *Ecological Inference: New*

example, would reflect that 50 percent of those in the group who had voted had cast their only vote for that candidate.

12. In a multiple-vote contest, in contrast, each voter has more than one vote. In School District elections, each voter may cast up to two or three votes, depending on the election year. Because each voter may cast more than one vote, the percentage of voters who support a particular candidate is not the same as the percentage of the votes received by that candidate. Therefore, an estimate of 50.0 percent reflects that 50 percent of the **total votes cast** by a group's voters were cast for the particular candidate.

13. In addition, the percentage of a group's votes cast for a particular candidate is virtually guaranteed to be a smaller number in a multiple-vote context than in a single-vote context. This is because voters may cast only one vote for any particular candidate in a multiple-vote context, just as in a single-vote election, but may also cast votes for other candidates. The votes for the other candidates are counted in the denominators used to calculate the percentage of the votes received by each candidate, resulting in lower percentages for each. This can be illustrated by assuming, for example, that two African Americans are candidates in a two-seat, two-vote election in which every African American voter cast a vote for each of the African American candidates. Each of these candidates would be supported by 100 percent of the African American voters, but would receive only 50 percent of the votes cast by African American voters. While support of 50 percent for a candidate might not sound like a highly cohesive vote, in this example, it would actually signify perfect cohesion among African American voters.

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*Methodological Strategies* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), at 93 (EI “is unparalleled when applied to the actual sort of data needed for analyzing important social issues such as racial voting patterns”).

## RESULTS

14. The results of the analyses of the elections are reported in the Table 1 at the end of the text of this Report. This Table contains the estimates derived through the EI analyses of the levels of support for the various candidates among African American and non-African American voters. In the left column of the Table, the year of the election and the number of votes allocated to each voter are identified. In addition, the names of the candidates are listed, with the names of the African American candidates highlighted by a **bold** font. The subsequent columns contain the estimates of the levels of support provided to the candidate by the respective groups. Reported in the columns are the point estimates of the level of support by the groups for the candidates, and below the point estimates, in parentheses, are the values of the 95 percent confidence interval for each estimate. The best estimates of the voting choices of each group, the point estimates, are also reported in the text.

### 2011: Three Seats, Three Votes

15. As revealed in Table 1, the 2011 three-vote, three-seat contest had a field of nine candidates, of which only two, Doris Ann Graham, an incumbent, and Vanessa Hawkins, were African Americans.

16. The two African American candidates were the candidates most preferred by the African American voters. While Ms. Graham and Ms. Hawkins were only two of the nine candidates, together they won an estimated 45.6 percent of the total votes cast by African Americans, with Ms. Graham receiving an estimated 24.1 and Ms. Hawkins 21.5. These support levels were statistically significantly higher than those for any of the seven non-African American candidates. Of the non-African American candidates, James H. Clark, an incumbent,



received the highest level of support among African American voters, at an estimated 13.5 percent.<sup>5</sup>

17. The two African American candidates were not the candidates preferred by non-African American voters. Together, they received only an estimated 13.5 percent of the non-African American votes, with Ms. Graham receiving an estimate of only 6.1 and Ms. Hawkins an estimate of just 7.4 percent. The three candidates receiving the most votes from non-African Americans were Chris Martinez, with an estimated 24.9 percent of their votes, Paul T. Morris, with 16.1, and Robert Chabot with 15.6. These votes were statistically significantly higher than those received by either of the African American candidates from non-African American voters.

18. Neither of the two African American candidates were elected. The three candidates receiving the most votes from non-African American voters—Mr. Martinez, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Chabot—won all three seats. This occurred despite the fact that Ms. Graham and Ms. Hawkins received a higher percentage of the African American vote than Mr. Morris and Mr. Chabot received from non-African Americans.

#### 2012: Two Seats, Two Votes

19. The 2012 two-vote, two-seat contest had a field of three candidates, of which only one, Barbara Morris, was an African American.

20. Ms. Morris was the candidate most preferred by the African American voters. She is estimated to have received a majority of their votes, 51.9 percent, despite each African American voter having two votes. This is a statistically significantly higher percentage than either of the non-African American candidates received from African American voters. One of

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<sup>5</sup> A statistically significant difference between the votes for candidates is present when the confidence intervals in their estimated votes do not overlap.

the non-African American candidates (Paul Schroeder) received an estimated 25.0 percent of the African American vote, while the other (Brian Scott Ebert) received an estimated 23.1 percent.

21. The candidates preferred by the non-African American voters were the two non-African American candidates, with Brian Scott Ebert receiving an estimated 46.3 percent and Paul Schroeder 40.9 percent. Ms. Morris received only an estimated 12.8 percent of the non-African American vote.

22. Ms. Morris was not elected. The two candidates preferred by non-African American voters won seats. This occurred despite the fact that their level of support from non-African Americans trailed the level of support received by Ms. Morris among African American voters.

#### 2013: Two Seats, Two Votes

23. The 2013 two-vote, two-seat contest had a field of four candidates, two of whom were African Americans. One, Charles (Chuck) Henson, was an incumbent. The other was Larry Thomas.

24. The candidate most preferred by African American voters was Mr. Henson, who received an estimated 43.7 percent of their votes. Mr. Thomas received another 11.9 percent.

25. The non-African American voters once again preferred the non-African American candidates. Leslie Suzanne Hogshead received 37.2 percent of their votes, while Keith A. Brown received 33.9. The non-African American support for Mr. Henson was estimated to be 17.0 percent, and that for Mr. Thomas 11.8 percent.

26. Despite receiving less support from non-African American voters than Mr. Henson received from African American voters, the two non-African American candidates won both seats.

2014: Three Seats, Three Votes

27. Eight candidates contested the 2014 three-vote, three-seat contest, of whom five were African Americans. There were three non-African American candidates, Robert Chabot, Paul T. Morris, and Kimberly A. Benz. Two were incumbents (Chabot and Morris).

28. Three of the African American candidates, Donna Paulette-Thurman, James A. Savala, and F. Willis Johnson, Jr., were the preferred candidates of African American voters. Together they received an estimated 75.3 percent of the African American vote. Ms. Paulette-Thurman received an estimated 26.1 percent, Mr. Savala 24.7, and Mr. Johnson 24.5. These support levels were each statistically significantly higher than those received by any of the other candidates.

29. The three non-African American candidates (Chabot, Morris, and Benz) were the preferences of the non-African American voters. Similar to the African American vote for the three African American-preferred candidates, they received a combined 76.8 percent of the non-African American votes. Mr. Chabot received 29.0 percent, Mr. Morris 25.8 percent, and Ms. Benz 22.0 percent. The combined non-African American crossover vote for the three leading African American candidates was an estimated 18.2 percent, while the combined crossover vote by African Americans for the three non-African American candidates was estimated to be 11.3 percent.

30. Despite the close to symmetrical percentage figures between the two groups, the two non-African American incumbents were reelected and only one African American, Ms. Paulette-Thurman, was elected.

31. Ms. Paulette-Thurman was the only African American to be elected to one of the 10 seats to the school board that were at issue in the four elections analyzed above.

## THE POST-LITIGATION ELECTION OF 2015

32. The final election analyzed for this Report is the election held earlier this year, following the filing of this lawsuit. Courts have been advised to view post-litigation elections “cautiously”<sup>6</sup> because such elections can contain “aberrational” circumstances,<sup>7</sup> not present in previous elections, which are helpful to the election of a minority candidate. Candidate pools and/or voter behavior in post-litigation elections, for example, could be influenced in ways that benefit a minority candidate, giving that candidate a “one-time advantage.”<sup>8</sup>

33. The 2015 election was a two-vote, two-seat election in which an African American candidate won one of the seats. This was only the second African American to be elected over the 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, and now 2015 elections. Five candidates competed in this election; three were African Americans and two were non-African Americans. The African Americans were Courtney Michelle Graves, Roger Hines, and Michael Person. The non-African Americans were Brian Scott Ebert, an incumbent, and Donna Marie Dameron.

34. Ms. Graves was the African American who was elected. She was a strong choice of African American voters, receiving an estimated 52.4 percent of the votes cast by them, despite each African American voter having two votes. Her non-African American support was, in contrast, an estimated 21.4 percent, statistically significantly lower than her African American support.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ruiz v. City of Santa Maria*, 160 F. 3d 543, 556-57 (9th Cir. 1998).

<sup>7</sup> *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 41.

<sup>8</sup> *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 76 (quoting *Gingles v. Edmisten*, 590 F. Supp. 345, 367 n.27 (E.D.N.C. 1984)). Indeed, the Supreme Court has noted that this advantage could result from “unusual organized political support by white leaders concerned to forestall single-member districting.” *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 76 (quoting *Edmisten*, 590 F. Supp. at 367 n.27).

35. Non-African American voters preferred Mr. Ebert, giving him an estimated 43.0 percent of their votes. African American support for him is estimated to be much smaller, an estimated 9.8 percent.

36. This election contained an important aberrational feature however. Unlike the previous two-seat elections, in which two non-African Americans were candidates, the second non-African American candidate in 2015 (Ms. Dameron) was, based on her vote, a minor candidate. Ms. Dameron received an estimated non-African American vote of only 9.9 percent. This was even smaller than the vote she received from African Americans, an estimated 14.5 percent.

37. This is not at all similar to the other two-seat elections. For example, in 2012 the two non-African American candidates contesting the two seats were Mr. Ebert and Mr. Schroeder. Mr. Ebert was again the preference of non-African American voters, receiving an estimated 46.3 percent of the votes cast by them. But Mr. Schroeder was far from a minor candidate, as he also received over 40 percent of the non-African American votes, an estimated 40.9 percent. Together, as noted above, Mr. Ebert and Mr. Schroeder won an estimated 87.2 percent of non-African American votes and were elected to the two seats.

38. Similarly, the election of 2013 was also a two-seat election. As noted above, there were also two non-African American candidates in this election. They were Ms. Hogshead and Mr. Brown. Ms. Hogshead was the candidate who received the largest vote among non-African American candidates, an estimated 37.2 percent. Mr. Brown, like Mr. Schroeder in 2012, was also far from a minor candidate, as he received over 30 percent of the non-African American votes, an estimated 33.9 percent. Together, Ms. Hogshead and Ms. Brown received an estimated 71.1 percent of non-African American votes and were elected to the two seats.

39. The 2015 election was substantially different. All three of these two-seat elections, as noted, were contested by two, and only two, non-African American candidates. But in 2015, one of these candidates, Ms. Dameron, was not a competitive candidate, at least in terms of voter support. This created an opportunity for an African American to be elected to one of the seats, an opportunity that may well have been a “one-time advantage.”

#### HOMOGENEOUS PRECINCT ANALYSIS

40. The EI estimates have been supplemented with the results of homogeneous precinct (“HP”) analyses, also known as extreme case analyses, which had been referenced by the Supreme Court in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 52-53. This procedure simply adds up the votes received by each candidate within the precincts that are deemed to be homogeneously African American or homogeneously non-African American. In this application of HP analysis, precincts in which more than 85 percent of the VAP is African American, according to the 2010 Census, are identified as homogeneously African American, and those in which less than 15 percent of the VAP is African American, again according to the 2010 Census, are identified as homogeneously non-African American.<sup>9</sup>

41. The results of the HP analyses are reported in Table 2. This table is designed the same as Table 1. Unlike the EI results, HP results are not estimates but rather counts of the votes

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<sup>9</sup> HP analyses are typically based on cutoffs of 90 percent and 10 percent, but in this application 85 percent and 15 percent are employed due to the small number of precincts that satisfy the 90 percent and 10 percent thresholds. In the 2011 election voting occurred in 47 precincts, only two of which were less than 10 percent African American in VAP and four above 90 percent. Seven precincts, however, were less than 15 percent and six precincts above 85. Voting occurred in 53 precincts in the 2012 election, of which only two were less than 10 percent and five above 90. The numbers of precincts less than 15 percent and above 85 were seven and eight respectively. Voting occurred in 46 precincts in the 2013 election, of which only one was below 10 percent in African American VAP and five above 90. Five precincts were below 15 percent and seven above 85. Voting in the 2014 election occurred in 47 precincts, only two of which were below 10 percent African American in VAP and four above 90;

for each candidate within the precincts identified as homogenously African American and those identified as homogeneously non-African American. Because these counts are not estimates, no confidence intervals are provided for them.

42. The HP results are very similar to the EI estimates and support the analysis described above. Indeed, only two of the HP results for African American voting behavior differ more than 5.0 percentage points from the corresponding EI estimate. These differences are 5.3 and 5.1. Only four of the HP results non-African American voting behavior differ by more than 3.0 percentage points from the corresponding EI estimate. Three of these differences are 3.4 and one is 3.3. None of these differences would change the inferences and conclusions expressed above if HP results were relied upon rather than EI estimates.

### **CONCLUSION**

43. As the above analyses of the last five elections reveal, there has been racially polarized voting in recent elections to the Board of the Ferguson-Florissant School District. There have been pronounced differences in the candidate preferences of African American voters and non-African American voters. African Americans have clearly shown, through their voting behavior, a preference to be represented on that Board by African American candidates, while non-African Americans have clearly shown, through their voting behavior, a preference to be represented by candidates that are not African American.

44. Given that multiple votes are allowed to be cast by voters in these elections, African Americans have cast their votes in a cohesive manner for African American candidates.

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whereas seven were below 15 and eight above 85. Fifty-three precincts were used in the 2015 election, with only two below 10 and five above 90, whereas seven were below 15 and eight above 85.

- a. In the 2011 election, seven candidates ran for three seats, and African Americans cast an estimated 45.6 percent of their votes for the only two African American candidates, with each receiving an estimate of over 21 percent of African American votes. The non-African American candidates received significantly lower levels of support among African American voters.
- b. In 2012, three candidates ran for two seats, and a majority of the votes cast by African Americans—an estimated 51.9 percent—were cast for the only African American candidate. Again, the non-African American candidates received substantially lower levels of support among African Americans.
- c. In the 2013 two-seat, two-vote election, there were four candidates, and African American voters cast an estimated 55.6 percent of their votes for the two African American candidates, and 43.7 percent for one in particular. Again, the non-African American candidates received substantially lower levels of support among African Americans.
- d. In the 2014 three-seat, three-vote election, there were eight candidates, and African Americans cast an estimated 75.3 percent of their votes roughly evenly for the three candidates most preferred by them, all of whom were African Americans. Again, the non-African American candidates received substantially lower levels of support among African Americans.
- e. And in 2015, another two-seat, two-vote election, African Americans cast 64.7 percent for their votes for two African American candidates, and a majority, an estimated 52.4 percent, for one in particular.



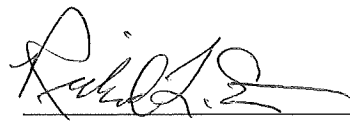
45. As the analyses of these elections also reveal, not only did the non-African American voters not share the preference for these African American candidates, they usually vetoed their elections. These vetoes occurred in 2011, 2012, and 2013, when not a single African American candidate preferred by African American voters won a seat. Two additional African American candidates preferred by African American voters were vetoed by the non-African American voters in 2014 as well. This was a three-vote and three-seat election in which two of the three African American candidates preferred by African American voters were defeated.

46. In the 2015 election, an African American candidate preferred by African American voters was not defeated. But this was a two-seat post-litigation election in which one of the two non-African American candidates was a minor candidate. This in effect left a seat available for an African American candidate to win.

47. Should additional documents or information be provided to me for review and analyze, I reserve the right to take these additional materials into account, modify and/or supplement my opinions, as well as to offer new opinions.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Executed on May 27, 2015 in Durham, North Carolina.

  
Richard L. Engstrom

**Table 1: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis  
Elections for Seats on the Ferguson-Florissant School Board**

**Estimates Derived through EI Analyses**

	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of Non-African American Votes</u>
<b>2011 / Three Votes</b>		
<b>Graham</b>	24.1 (21.0 – 27.0)	6.1 (4.3 – 7.7)
<b>Hawkins</b>	21.5 (17.2 – 25.5)	7.4 (5.4 – 9.4)
Martinez	8.6 (7.0 – 10.6)	24.9 (23.7 – 25.9)
P. Morris	9.3 (7.6 – 11.4)	16.1 (14.4 – 18.1)
Chabot	7.1 (4.6 – 9.6)	15.6 (13.4 – 18.3)
Ebert	7.9 (5.4 – 11.3)	14.1 (11.6 – 16.2)
Clark	13.5 (11.2 – 16.1)	8.0 (6.5 – 9.3)
Lentz	4.7 (3.1 – 7.6)	4.5 (3.2 – 5.7)
Hosea	3.2 (2.8 – 3.5)	3.1 (2.8 – 3.5)

**2012 / Two Votes**

<b>B. Morris</b>	51.9 (45.7 – 58.4)	12.8 (10.1 – 15.6)
Ebert	23.1 (18.1 – 28.2)	46.3 (43.8 – 48.5)
Schroeder	25.0 (19.8 – 29.9)	40.9 (38.7 – 43.5)

**2013 / Two Votes**

<b>Henson</b>	43.7 (37.2 – 50.7)	17.0 (13.3 – 20.4)
<b>Thomas</b>	11.9 (9.4 – 15.3)	11.8 (10.0 – 13.7)
Hogshead	24.2 (20.0 – 27.8)	37.2 (35.0 – 39.4)
Brown	20.2 (16.2 – 24.3)	33.9 (31.8 – 36.0)

**2014 / Three Votes**

<b>Paulette-Thurman</b>	26.1 (23.7 – 28.5)	8.4 (6.9 – 10.0)
<b>Savala</b>	24.7 (22.3 – 26.8)	7.0 (4.9 – 8.7)
<b>Johnson</b>	24.5 (21.1 – 27.2)	2.8 (1.5 – 4.5)
<b>Wallace</b>	8.6 (6.4 – 10.9)	1.9 (1.2 – 2.6)
<b>Thomas</b>	4.7 (3.4 – 6.3)	3.2 (2.3 – 4.0)
Chabot	4.8 (2.4 – 9.4)	29.0 (27.1 – 30.6)
P. Morris	3.2 (2.0 – 5.4)	25.8 (24.4 – 27.1)
Benz	3.3 (2.1 – 4.7)	22.0 (20.5 – 23.4)

**2015 / Two Votes**

<b>Graves</b>	52.4 (48.7 – 56.0)	21.4 (18.3 – 24.8)
<b>Hines</b>	12.3 (8.9 – 15.9)	19.7 (17.7 – 21.9)
<b>Person</b>	11.0 (8.6 – 13.5)	6.0 (4.8 – 7.5)
Ebert	9.8 (7.7 – 12.2)	43.0 (39.6 – 45.9)
Dameron	14.5 (11.1 – 18.3)	9.9 (7.5 – 12.1)

**Table 2: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis  
Elections for Seats on the Ferguson-Florissant School Board**

**Results of Homogenous Precinct Analyses**

	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of Non-African American Votes</u>
<b>2011 / Three Votes</b>		
<b>Graham</b>	26.9	9.5
<b>Hawkins</b>	26.6	8.4
Martinez	9.7	23.1
P. Morris	7.8	14.6
Chabot	4.2	12.2
Ebert	6.8	15.9
Clark	11.5	8.9
Lentz	3.8	4.5
Hosea	2.7	2.9
<b>2012 / Two Votes</b>		
<b>B. Morris</b>	52.3	16.1
Ebert	28.0	45.4
Schroeder	19.7	38.4

**2013 / Two Votes**

<b>Henson</b>	41.4	20.4
<b>Thomas</b>	11.2	11.3
Hogshead	25.1	36.5
Brown	22.4	31.7

**2014 / Three Votes**

<b>Paulette-Thurman</b>	26.3	8.7
<b>Savala</b>	23.1	8.5
<b>Johnson</b>	23.8	4.4
<b>Wallace</b>	8.5	2.8
<b>Thomas</b>	5.3	3.8
Chabot	4.4	27.0
P. Morris	3.9	23.6
Benz	4.8	21.2

**2015 / Two Votes**

<b>Graves</b>	51.9	21.4
<b>Hines</b>	14.5	21.1
<b>Person</b>	8.5	5.5
Ebert	12.2	40.6
Dameron	12.9	11.3

# **APPENDIX**

**VITA**  
**RICHARD L. ENGSTROM**

May 2015

OFFICE

Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity,  
and Gender in the Social Sciences  
Social Science Research Institute  
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Duke University  
Erwin Mill  
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Phone: (504)-756-1478 Fax: (919)-681-4183  
E-Mail Address = [richard.engstrom@uno.edu](mailto:richard.engstrom@uno.edu)  
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HOME

23 Banbury Lane  
Chapel Hill, NC 27517  
Phone = (504)-756-1478

PERSONAL AND EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION

Born May 23, 1946. Married to former Carol L. Verheek. Four children: Richard Neal, born 3/10/70; Mark Andrew, born 1/14/73; Brad Alan, born 3/31/77; and Amy Min, born 8/18/84.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1971-74; Associate Professor, 1974-1979; Professor, 1979-2006; Research Professor, 1987-2006, Endowed Professor of Africana Studies, 2003-2005.

Chairperson, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1976-1979. Coordinator of Graduate Studies, 1990-1992, 1993-2006.

Consultant, Center for Civil Rights, School of Law, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2006-2007.

Research Associate, Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Social Sciences (REGSS), Duke University, 2013 – present. Visiting Research Fellow, REGSS, 2008 - 2012. Visiting Professor of Political Science, Duke University 2008 - present.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, National Taiwan University and National Chengchi University, and Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., 1981-82.



Fulbright-Hays Professor, University College, Galway, Ireland, 1985-86.

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Irish Studies, the Queen's University of Belfast, 1990.

David Bruce Fellow, Bruce Centre for American Studies, University of Keele, England, 1993.

Visiting Fellow, School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, Australia, 1998.

Program Visitor, Political Science Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, June-July, 2005.

Recipient, UNO Alumni Association's Career Distinction Award for Excellence in Research, December 1985.

Recipient, George W. Lucas Community Service Award, New Orleans NAACP, 1993.

Recipient, Emmitt J. Douglass Memorial Award, Louisiana NAACP, 2013.

#### FORMAL EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Kentucky, 1971

M.A., University of Kentucky, 1969

A.B., Hope College (Holland, Michigan), 1968.  
(recipient of Class of '65 Political Science Award, 1968.

#### PRIMARY TEACHING FIELDS

Election Systems, Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Politics.

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member, Election Review Committee, American Political Science Association, 2003-2004.

Chair, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1993-95, 95-97. Section Board, 1993-present.

Book review editor, American Review of Politics, 1995-present.

Lecture tour, under sponsorship of United States Information Agency, of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, and Liberia, January, 1994. Topics include, among others, comparative election systems, legislatures within democratic regimes, and race and gender in contemporary politics.

Associate Member, Centre for the Study of Irish Elections, University College Galway.

Member, Board of Editors, Public Administration Quarterly 1977- present.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 1988-1993.

Member, Board of Editors, State and Local Government Review, 1988- 1990.

Member, Committee on the Status of Blacks, Southern Political Science Association, 1991-1996.

Treasurer, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1981 (position resigned during term due to Fulbright Lectureship).

Chair, Harold D. Lasswell Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1995-1996 (best dissertation in public policy).

Chair, Ted Robinson Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995-1996 (best research project in minority politics by a graduate student).

Member, Nominating Committees, Southern Political Science Association, 1980; Louisiana Political Science Association, 1981, Study Group on Comparative Representation and Electoral Systems, International Political Science Association, 1988, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999.

Member, Chastain Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1978. V.O. Key Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1990. Ted Robinson Memorial Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995, 1996 (chair). Hallett Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999, 2000.

Member, Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1976 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1992 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Member, Membership Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1973-74.

Presented papers at meetings of the American Political Science Association, International Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, Louisiana Political Science Association, Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, International Society of Political Psychology, Harvard University Computer Graphics Week, Australian-New

Zealand Academy for the Advancement of Science. Formal papers also presented at programs at Tulane University, Sagamon State University, University of Keele (England), Rice University, and Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy, University of California School of Law.

Chaired panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, and International Political Science Association.

Served as discussant for panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association; Southwestern Social Science Association; Louisiana Political Science Association; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan), and International Political Science Association.

Reviewed manuscripts for the American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Polity, Social Science Quarterly, Legislative Studies Quarterly, American Politics Quarterly, Urban Affairs Review, Electoral Studies, Election Law Journal, Political Analysis, National Political Science Review, Women and Politics, Southeastern Political Review, State and Local Government Review, Public Administration Review, Public Administration Quarterly, American Review of Politics, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Law and Policy, Journal of Policy History, Public Administration and Management, Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy, Du Bois Review, Howard University Press, Stanford University Press, and Northern Illinois University Press.

Recipient of grant from Pacific Cultural Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan to support project entitled "The Legislative Yuan: A Study of Legislative Adaptation" (1982).

Recipient of grant from private sources, New Orleans, to support a study of mayoral tenure in large American cities (1983).

Recipient of grant from Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, to conduct exit poll of cumulative voting election in Chilton County, Alabama (1992).

Recipient of grants from Louisiana Education Quality Support Fund, Fellowship Funding for Superior Graduate Students, 1992 (1993-1997) \$48,000; 1996 (1997-2001) \$64,000; 1997 (1998-2002) \$48,000; 1998 (1999-2003) \$56,000.

Reviewed grant proposals for National Science Foundation programs in Political Science and Law and Social Sciences, and National Science Foundation graduate fellowship applications for the National Research Council.

Served as mentor in Southern Regional Council's Voting Rights Fellowship Program to Jason F. Kirksey, 1992-1993, and Dr. Olethia Davis, 1993-1994.

United Nations Consultant on Election Systems and Constituency Delimitation, National Election Commission of Liberia, UN Mission in Liberia, 2004.

#### COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Consultant, Charter Task Force Committee, New Orleans, 2000. Preparation of Term Limits: A Report to the Charter Task Force Committee, February, 2000.

Interviewed on term limits issue on "Crescent City Close Up," public affairs program on three radio stations, WNOE, KKND, and KUMX, March 19, 2000.

Participant, Roundtable on At-Large Elections for the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), sponsored by Common Cause, the Center for Democracy and Technology, and the Markle Foundation, at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 9, 2000.

Member, Board of Directors, Concern International Charities, 1998-2003.

Chairperson, Taskforce on Civil Service, Mayor-Elect Ernest Morial's Transition Office (New Orleans), 1977-78.

Member, Chachere Subcommittee of UNO Diversity Cabinet, 2003-2004.

Member, Graduate Council, UNO, 1975-76, 1994-95, 2006.

Member, Research Council, UNO, 1995-97, 2005.

Member, International Student Recruitment Committee, UNO, 1993-96.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies and Dean of the Graduate School, UNO, 1987-88.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Graduate Dean, UNO, 1978-79.

Member, University Budget Committee, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, Liberal Arts Advisory Committee, UNO, 1975-76, 1982-84.

Member, Academic Planning Committee, UNO, 1982-1988.

Member, Faculty Council Committee on Faculty Honors, UNO, 1985-1990.

Member, Committee on Research, UNO Self-Study, 1972-73; 1982-83.

Member, Dean's Advisory Committee on Academic Planning, College of Liberal Arts, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, University Senate, UNO, 1975-77; 1980-81; 83-85; 87-91.

Member, Steering Committee, Legal Division, New Orleans Chapter, American Foundation for Negro Affairs, 1977-79.

Service as expert witness in numerous vote dilution cases in federal courts. Employed by the United States Department of Justice, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Center for Constitutional Rights, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Native American Rights Fund, and other organizations. Served as court-appointed expert for the remedial portion of Williams v. City of Dallas, United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, 1991. Service as Special Master for the remedial portion of Harper v. City of Chicago Heights, United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, 2002-2004.

INVITED LECTURES / PRESENTATIONS (Since 1986)

1986: McGee College, University of Ulster - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

The Queen's University of Belfast - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University of Keele - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University College Dublin - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics" (4/30/86).

University College Galway - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?"

1987: Southern University - "The Equal Protection Clause and Electoral Reapportionment" (4/8/87).

APSA Summer Institute for Black Students, Louisiana State University - "The Political Scientist as Expert Witness" (7/26/87).

NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Conference on Voting Rights, San Antonio, Texas - "Cumulative and Limited Voting as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution."

1988: College of William and Mary - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue" and "The Role of Social Scientists in Voting Rights Litigation"

University of Queensland - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years" (5/24/88).

Griffith University (Brisbane) - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years" (5/25/88).

1989: Tulane University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights: Vote Dilution in Judicial Elections" (3/9/89).

Lamar University - "Voting Rights: A Retrospective" (10/30/89).

Oklahoma State University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights" (November/10/89).

Prairie View A and M University - "Reapportionment and Black Political Power" (11/16/89).

1990: The Queen's University of Belfast-Institute of Irish Studies, "The Irish Election System: Manipulation and Reform" (3/13/90); Department of Politics, "The Reagan Presidency: An Assessment" (3/8/90).

Brookings Institution - "Social Scientists and the Voting Rights Act" (10/19/90).

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (Austin, Texas) - "The Evolution of the Voting Rights Act of 1965" (10/29/90).

1991: University of Texas at Dallas - "Redistricting the Dallas City Council" (3/8/91).

United States Department of Justice, Voting Section - "Alternative Election Systems" (3/15/91).

Stetson University School of Law - "Alternative Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution" (4/27/91).

Norfolk State University - "Election Analyses in Voting Rights Litigation" (6/15/91).

1992: University of Colorado, Summer Workshop in Urban Politics - "Race and Voting in Judicial Elections: New Orleans as a Case Study Setting" (7/9/91).

Harold Washington College, Chicago - "Political Science Research and Testimony in the Miami-Dade County Core" (9/5/92 - not presented to illness).

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia - "Exit Polls and Voting Rights Litigation" (10/2/92).

1994: Lecture tour of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Liberia for United States Information Agency, January, 1994.

National Conference of State Legislators, Annual Meeting, New Orleans - "Redistricting and the Courts" (7/26/94)

1995: Department of International Politics, Peking University, "Constitutional Law, Comparative Electoral Systems, and the Politics of Race and Gender" (10/17/95).

1997: John D. Lees Memorial Lecture, Keynote Address, 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, (United Kingdom) Political Science Association, Keele, England, "Affirmative Action: The Election and the Election System" (1/3/97).

Alumni College, College of Liberal Arts, University of New Orleans, "Racial Gerrymandering in the 1990s: The Issues and the Alternatives" (2/1/97).

Commission on Governmental Reorganization, City of New Orleans, "Principles for Governmental Organization" (9/23/97).

Civil Rights Training Institute (Airlie Conference), NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "Alternative Election Systems in the Post-Shaw Era" (11/8/97).

## 1998

School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, "Racial Gerrymandering in the United States" (4/1/98) and "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (5/29/98).

School of Political Science, University of New South Wales, Sydney, "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (4/8/98).

Illinois Secretary of State's Commission on Redistricting, Chicago, IL, "Computer Generated Districting Plans: Necessary Conditions and Tie Breaking Criteria" (12/16/98).

## 2001

Carinthian Institute of Minority Affairs, Villach, Austria, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: Creating Electoral Opportunities for Minorities in America's Single Member District System" (5/5/01).

Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans, LA, "The Mayor: How Many Terms?" (10/10/01).

## 2002

Pomona College, Claremont, CA, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: There Must be a Better Way" (3/13/02).

Utah State University, "The Redistricting Thicket: Are There Alternatives?" Bennion Teachers' Workshop (8/9/02).

Utah State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," Redistricting in the New Millennium: A Lecture Series, (11/26/02).

2003

Florida State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," (1/21/03).

2004

Cleveland City Club/Cleveland State University, "Metro Reform and Minority Voting Rights," (2/25/04).

Liberian National Election Commission Consultative Assembly, Monrovia, Liberia, "Constituency Boundary Redemarcation: Concepts and Timeframes," (6/7/04).

2005

Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, United States House of Representatives, written and oral testimony, hearing on Extension of the Preclearance Provision of the Voting Rights Act, (10/25/05).

William C. Velasquez Institute, San Antonio, TX, "Influence Districts," (11/19/05)

2006

University of West Georgia, "The Gerrymandering Problem: Lessons from Australia?" (4/3/06).

Duke University, "Racially Polarized Voting: Pervasive and Persistent in the American South," Conference on "W(h)ithering the Voting Rights Act?" (4/7/06).

International Political Science Association, Fukuoka, Japan. Roundtable on Electronic Voting. "E Voting in the U.S.," (7/13/06).

Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law, "The Gerrymandering Problem: Lessons from Australia?," (8/7/06).

Short Course on The National Popular Vote Plan to Revamp the Electoral College, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, "Potential Impact of the National Popular Vote Plan on Presidential Elections and Other Electoral Reforms," (8/30/06).

American Bar Association, Administrative Law Section, "Redistricting Reform: Lessons from Australia," Washington, D.C. (10/26/06).

2008



Morehouse College, “The Gerrymandering Problem in the United States: Judicial Protection or Redistricting Commissions or Alternative Election Systems,” Voting Analysis in Mathematics and Politics: Interdisciplinary Research and Education Seminar (VAMPIRES) (4/18/08).

#### 2009

Duke University, “Response to Thomas Brunell, ‘Why Competitive Elections are Bad for America’,” Duke University Political Science Students’ Association (2/10/09).

Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, and Diversity, University of California at Berkeley School of Law, presenter, panel on “The Redistricting Experience: Tales from the Field,” conference on Redistricting Reform and Voting Rights: Identifying Common Ground and Challenges, UC Washington Center, (11/11/09).

#### 2010

Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Social Sciences, Duke University Presentation on “Race and Redistricting” at the conference “Counting Race: Racial Classifications and the 2010 Census,” Duke University (3/19/10).

St. Louis University Law School, Presentation on “Cumulative and Limited Voting as Remedies for Dilutive Election Systems,” at the symposium on “Voting 45 Years after the Voting Rights Act,” (3/26/10).

Demos, Presentation on “Issues in the Post-2010 Round of Redistricting” and Discussion Leader for Session on Redistricting, “An In-Depth Discussion with Demos,” Washington, DC (9/4/10).

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Presentation on “Prongs II and III: Necessary Preconditions under *Thornburg v. Gingles*,” at the Voting Rights and Redistricting Training Institute, Airlie Conference, Warrenton, VA (10/9/10).

Center for Democratic Performance, Binghamton University, “Influence Districts and the Courts: A Concept in Need of Clarity,” (10/28/10).

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Short presentation on “Racially Polarized Voting Analyses,” National Redistricting Convening, San Antonio, TX (12/9/10).

#### 2011

Columbia University, “IRCs in Comparative Perspective: Lessons from Australia?,” Conference on Do Independent Redistricting Commissions Affect Minority Representation?, New York City (12/9/11).

## 2012

Duke University, “Minorities and the New Round of Redistricting: Native Americans, Latinos, and African Americans, Plus (of course) The Great State of Texas,” Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender Colloquium, (3/22/12).

Georgia Perimeter College, Clarkston Campus, “Minority-Majority Districts: Their Adoption and Consequences,” (10/4/12).

## 2013

“Judicial Subdistricts: Where Do We Go from Here?”, National Bar Association and Louisiana Judicial conference, Baton Rouge, LA (2/16/13).

University of North Carolina Greenboro, “Controversies over Election Reform in North Carolina,” panel at the Twenty-Fourth Annual MPA Alumni Reunion, (11/1/13).

Numerous other presentations before groups such as the Louisiana Municipal Association; New Orleans League of Women Voters; Public Policy Forums at Southern University in Baton Rouge; Louisiana Municipal Clerks Institute; (La.) Black Legislative Caucus Institute; Robert A. Taft Institute of Government Seminars, Southern University; Special Committee on Elective Law and Voter Participation, American Bar Association; Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Law, United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary; Institute of American Culture, Academia Sinica (Taiwan), Foundation for Scholarly Exchange (Taiwan), and Tulane University, Department of Political Science and College of Law.

## REFERENCES

Dr. Christine L. Day, former Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148, 504-280-6266, clday@uno.edu.

Dr. Charles D. Hadley, former Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148, 504-810-3087, cdhadley@gmail.com.

Dr. Kerry L. Haynie, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC 27708, 919-660-4366, klhaynie@duke.edu.

Dr. Baodong Liu, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT 84112, 801-581-6473, baodong.liu@utah.edu.

Dr. Michael D. McDonald, Department of Political Science, University of Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901 607-777-4563, [mdmcd@binghamton.edu](mailto:mdmcd@binghamton.edu).

Dr. Henry Flores, Distinguished Professor of Political Science, St. Marty's University, San Antonio, TX.

## CURRENT RESEARCH

"Districting by Independent Commissions: Lessons from Australia?" being prepared for a volume on Independent Redistricting Commissions and Minority Representation, edited by Rudolfo O. de la Garza.

"Native Americans and Redistricting Issues: State Legislative Redistricting in New Mexico," an invited submission to the *Justice Systems Journal*,

Analysis of Instance Runoff Voting Elections in North Carolina, 2007 and 2009 (with Michael Cobb).

A Review of the Evidentiary Record for the Renewal and Amendment of the Special Provisions of the Voting Rights Act, 2006, with a focus on Louisiana.

## LATEST CONFERENCE PAPERS

"Influence District and the Courts: A Concept in Need of Clarity." Initially presented at the Conference on "Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future: Honoring the Fortieth Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965," Center for the Study of American Politics, Yale University, April 21-23, 2005. Expanded version forthcoming in volume edited by Daniel McCool, The Most Fundamental Right: The 2006 Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act.

"Racially Polarized Voting: Pervasive and Persistent in the American South," Conference on "W(h)ithering the Voting Rights Act?" John Hope Franklin Center, Duke University, April 7, 2006.

"Majority Vote Rule and Runoff Elections," presented at a conference on "Plurality and Multi-Round Elections," University of Montreal, June, 2006 (co-authored with Richard N. Engstrom), Montreal, June 17-18, 2006. Expanded version selected for inclusion in mini-symposium in Electoral Studies, edited by Bernard Grofman, 27 (September 2008) 407-416.

"Cumulative and Limited Voting: Remedies for Dilutive Election Systems and More," presented at the symposium on *Voting 45 Years after the Voting Rights Act*, St. Louis University School of Law, March 26, 2010; published in the Fall 2010 edition of the St. Louis University Public Law Review.

“Political Scientists as Expert Witness,” Annual Meeting of the State Politics and Policy Association, Springfield, IL, June, 2010), with Michael P. McDonald. (Presented by Michael P. McDonald). Published in PS 44 (April 2011), 285-289.

“Social Science Expert Witness Testimony in Voting Rights Cases,” Eighth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, July, 2013, with Daniel McCool, Jorge Chapa, and Gerald Webster.

“The Elephant in the Room: *NAMUDNO*, *Shelby County*, and Racially Polarized Voting,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2013, Chicago, IL

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **BOOKS**

Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001) (with Mark A. Rush).

### **MONOGRAPHS**

Home Rule for Louisiana Parishes (Baton Rouge: Police Jury Association of Louisiana and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Home Rule in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Government Within the 1974 Louisiana Constitution: A Reference Guide for Municipal Officials (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1975).

Louisiana Mayor's Handbook (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1977), (with Edward Clynch and Konrad Kressley).

Mayoral Tenure in Large American Cities (New Orleans: School of Urban and Regional Studies, University of New Orleans, 1983).

### **ARTICLES, RESEARCH NOTES, AND BOOK CHAPTERS**

"Statutory Restraints on Administrative Lobbying -- 'Legal Fiction'", Journal of Public Law, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1970), 90-103 (with Thomas G. Walker). Reprinted in Dennis Ippolito and

Thomas Walker (eds.), Reform and Responsiveness: Readings in American Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 428-438.

"Race and Compliance: Differential Political Socialization," Polity, 3 (Fall 1970), 100-111. Reprinted in Charles S. Bullock, III, and Harrell Rogers, Jr. (eds.), Black Political Attitudes: Implications for Political Support (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 33-44.

"Political Ambitions and the Prosecutorial Office," Journal of Politics, 33 (February 1971), 190-194.

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments," Midwest Journal of Political Science 15 (August 1971), 475-494 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Expectations and Images: A Note on Diffuse Support for Legal Institutions," Law and Society Review, 6 (May 1972), 631-636 (with Michael W. Giles).

"Black Control or Consolidation: The Fringe Response," Social Science Quarterly, 53 (June 1972), 161-167 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments: A Comparison of Survey Findings," American Journal of Political Science, 17 (February 1973), 182-188 (with W. W. E. Lyons).

"Racial Gerrymandering and Southern State Legislative Redistricting: Attorney General Determinations Under the Voting Rights Act," Journal of Public Law, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1973), 37-66 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jr.).

"Socio-Political Cross Pressures and Attitudes Toward Political Integration of Urban Governments," Journal of Politics, 35 (August 1973), 682-711 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Candidate Attraction to the Politicized Councilmanic Office: A Note on New Orleans," Social Science Quarterly, 55 (March 1975), 975-982 (with James N. Pezant).

"Home Rule in Louisiana -- Could This Be The Promised Land?," Louisiana History, 17 (Fall 1976), 431-455.

"Judicial Activism and the Problem of Gerrymandering," in Randall B. Ripley and Grace A. Franklin (eds.), National Government and Public Policy in the United States (Itasca, IL: Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1977), pp. 239-244.

"The Supreme Court and Equi-Populous Gerrymandering: A Remaining Obstacle in the Quest for Fair and Effective Representation," Arizona State Law Journal, Vol. 1976, No. 2 (1977), 277-319. Cited in Karcher v. Daggett, 462 U.S. 725 (1983) (by J. Stevens, concurring, at 750 n. 8, 752 n. 10, 753 n. 11, and 758 n. 16, and J. White, dissenting, at 776 n. 12).

"State Centralization Versus Home Rule: A Note on Ambition Theory's Powers Proposition," Western Political Quarterly 30 (June 1977), 288-294 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Pruning Thorns from the Thicket: An Empirical Test of the Existence of Racial Gerrymandering," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2 (November 1977) 465-479 (with John K. Wildgen). Cited extensively in Thornburg v. Gingles, \_\_\_\_\_ U.S. \_\_\_\_\_ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"Racial Vote Dilution: Supreme Court Interpretations of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," Southern University Law Review, 4 (Spring 1978), 139-164.

"The Political Behavior of Lawyers in the Louisiana House of Representatives," Louisiana Law Review 39 (Fall 1978), 43-79 (with Patrick F. O'Connor, Justin J. Green, and Chong Lim Kim).

"Restructuring the Regime: Support for Change Within the Louisiana Constitutional Convention," Polity 11 (Spring 1979), 440-451 with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"The Hale Boggs Gerrymander: Congressional Redistricting, 1969," Louisiana History, 21 (Winter 1980), 59-66.

"Lawyer-Legislators and Support for State Legislative Reform," Journal of Politics, 42 (February 1980), 267-276 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Discrimination in the Electoral Process: The Voting Rights Act and the Vote Dilution Issue," in Robert P. Steed, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, (eds.), Party Politics in the South (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1980), pp. 197-213.

"Spatial Distribution of Partisan Support and the Seats/Votes Relationship," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 5 (August 1980), 423- 435 (with John K. Wildgen).

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